1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Special burial places for the umbilical cords of children of the Tui Tonga seem to have been made, as the following example indicates:

Pito o Papuni (literally, Umbilical Cord of Papuni) is a small mound on Fofoa Island, Vavau group, at the eastern point close to Hunga Island. Papuni was said to have been a Tui Tonga's son. The name of the mound indicates that it is the resting place of his umbilical cord rather than his body; in other words that it is a mound connected with his birth rather than his death.

A small mound of the same type is located at Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, Tongatabu, and contains the umbilical cord of Mafitoutai, a female.

THE FEMALE TUI TONGA

The Female Tui Tonga (Tui Tonga Fefine) was usually the oldest sister of the male Tui Tonga, and if she died the next oldest. She was appointed only after the installation of the male Tui Tonga who is said to have directed the choice. However, Sinaitakala IV seems to be an exception. The Female Tui Tonga remained in office until death, even after her brother's death and during the reign of her brother's son. She ranked her brother or her brother's son.

The long period between the Female Tui Tonga Fatafehi and Sinaitakala I listed below, arouses the suspicion that, like the Tamaha, the office may be of late creation and that the attribution of a Female Tui Tonga to the times of Tuitatui (about 1200 A. D.) and Talaihaapepe is a modern fiction based on recent Tongan practice (26, pp. 29, 46, 48, 49.)

Brown (6, p. 453), quoting Fison, writes of a Female Tui Tonga holding office in 1890, evidently referring to the person who would have held the office had it been continued. An aged Tongan informant interviewed in 1920 had seen two Tui Tonga, as he expressed it. Actually he had seen a male Tui Tonga (Laufilitonga), also a Female Tui Tonga (probably Fatafehihaapai) who had died during the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Josiah Tupou 1826-1845.

At Lapaha (Mua), Tongatabu, Takuilau, the residence of the Female Tui Tonga, was close to that of the male Tui Tonga at the site of the present convent. The scant list of Female Tui Tonga is presented below together with the names of the brothers who were Tui Tonga. The King numbers in parentheses indicate the sequence in the dynasty:

Latutama, sister of Tuitatui (11)

Fatafehi, sister of Talaatama (12) and Talaihaapepe (14). Buried in Langi Heketa, near Niutoua, Tongatabu.

Sinaitakala I, sister of Fatafehi (30). Buried in Langi Leka, Lapaha, Tongatabu.

Ekutongapipiki, sister of Kaululfonua III (31).

Sinaitakala II, sister of Tui Pulotu I (33). Buried in Langi Lotunofo, Lapaha, Tongatabu.

Sinaitakala III, sister of Tui Pulotu II (35). Buried in Langi Fanakavakilangi Lapaha, Tongatabu.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

a chief to forgive, even if the offender was a commoner; other chiefs would laugh at him if he did not. But perchance the seducer were not forgiven he would be killed at the first opportunity.

Regarding theft, the opinion of all early voyagers is expressed by Wilson (66, p. 385). "In their propensity to theft they [the Polynesians in general] too much resembled each other, though the Friendly Islanders seemed the most daring." Unfortunately we know nothing of the extent of thievery among the Tongans themselves, but presumably it was rare.

LIFE CRISES

BIRTH

When the time is nearly arrived for the delivery of a child, a messenger (usually the husband) is sent off for the midwife and should the first person the messenger meet be of the female sex, it is said that the child will be a girl, and vice versa. (Note from W. H. Murley.)

For the first ten days after childbirth the mother's diet was exclusively yams and hot coconut milk (*veifua*). At childbirth both mother and child were painted with turmeric (*enga*) and oil immediately. Collocott says (10, p. 418) that the mother must not leave the house or bathe for five days. Each day for two or three months the mother and child were given a sponge bath and repainted with turmeric, said to keep the mother and child warm and to induce the mother to produce milk quickly and plentifully. The use of turmeric is today yielding to fuller's earth. The following tale refers to the use of turmeric:

> Mahina was a hero who lived at Vaipoa in Vavau. Mahina had a god who guarded the water (a little bit of the sea) where Mahina bathed. A woman who had recently borne a child, and was therefore painted with turmeric, bathed in this water. The god disliked the smell of the turmeric in the water and shifted his quarters. He gulped the water up into his mouth and set off. Near Makave, Vavau, he met another god who made him laugh, and he spilt some of the water, which gave rise to the water called Finekata. Nearby he spilt some more out of his mouth which gave rise to the water called Veengangana (literally, spilt water). He went on to Tongatabu and established himself on the weather shore near Vaotuu, but another turmeric-painted matron disturbed him by bathing in his water, and so he packed up again and finally discharged the water at Tufumahina, Tongatabu.

That perhaps the newborn child was regarded as of supernatural origin is suggested by the word *louuluotua* (hair of the god), applied to the hair on the head of a child when born.

The practice of burying the umbilical cord and of marking the burial spot is still the custom. Usually the cords are buried in mounds just outside the house and often sweet-smelling flowers are planted over the spot.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

in the latter stages it somewhat resembles phthisis. It comes on with occasional chilliness, loss of appetite, lowness of spirits, wasting of the flesh: shortly succeed swellings in the groin and axillæ; general debility, paleness of the lips. As the disease advances the patient stoops very much; experiences pain in the chest, and across the shoulders: sometimes, but not often, a cough, and expectoration now supervene, the debility and emaciation become extreme, and death relieves the patient from his sufferings: these are all the symptoms which Mr. Mariner can speak of with certainty. They use no physical remedies.

Féke-feke appears to be a sort of mild irregular intermittent: the paroxysm usually lasts from two to eight hours, and consists of a cold and a hot stage; but is seldom succeeded by perspiration. The returns of the paroxysm are very uncertain; sometimes two, at other times three, four, five or more days intervene. The patient is sometimes perfectly well for a month, and then his disorder returns.

In regard to diseases properly belonging to females, Mr. Mariner has very little to communicate. The women are in general tolerably healthy: during the catamenia, they anoint themselves all over with a mixture of oil and turmeric, to avoid catching cold; and they do

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

the same after lying in, on which occasions women always assist, to the perfect exclusion of the other sex: respecting the circumstances of parturition, and the separation of the child, these things are kept a profound secret from the men*. The men also occasionally use this mixture of turmeric and oil in time of war, when the weather is wet, to prevent them from feeling chilly, for at that time they have scarcely any dress: Mr. Mariner on similar occasions has anointed himself all over with it, and found it to have the desired effect.

* Difficult parturition, as may be supposed, is very rare. Jeremiah Higgins informs me, that he once saw a woman, who rendered wild, and as it were frantic with her sufferings, ran out of the house, her attendants not being able to restrain her, and wandered about the plantation, sometimes stooping down—at other times running as if to escape from the perils that threatened her: her attendants did not attempt to render her any personal assistance; they merely prayed aloud to the gods to send her a speedy and safe delivery; and when she was worn out with fatigue, they carried her into the house. She was three days in labour.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

427. Valoki e kulo ki he fakapaku: The pot scolding the frying-pan. 539 571

An entirely modern adaptation of the English pot and kettle expression, and with the same meaning. (See No. 483.)

DOMESTIC RELATIONS

MOTHER AND CHILD

428. Fakamui i mama: At the end in chewing. 539 855 593

Mothers often feed young children by chewing up food in their own mouths and then transferring it to the mouths of the children. This expression indicates a mother who chews food for her child but deprives the youngster of his due by swallowing a portion of the food and giving the child the remainder. The literal meaning seems to be, "at the end of the chewing (she swallows)," or more probably, "(she gives the child) the end of the chew," that is, what is left after her own swallow.

429. Kai tama: Child eating.

Applied to parents who are unkind to their children, and also to those who are unkind to close relatives. [602]

430. Kuo ta ki hono uho: It was struck to his naval-corn. 539 852 844 828

After the birth of a child the umbilical cord was cut by the father or male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord in a convenient position, and the father severed it with a hatchet uttering a wish for the future destiny of the child: that a girl would be beautiful; that a boy would become a great warrior or fisherman, and the like. So when anyone is peculiarly apt at some particular task or seems to have been born to meet some special circumstances that have arisen, it is not uncommon to say that his cord was cut for that, just as we say in English that he was destined for it.

431. Lau tama fai ki he fatu: Reckoning a child in the womb. 539 183

Wait till the child is safely born before you have anything to say about it, or any plans to make for it. It is just like our English expression, "Counting your chickens before they are hatched."

This recalls, though it has no very direct bearing on it, the story of a chiefly woman who died during pregnancy, and after the vault in which she was buried had been closed up those busy about the grave heard the cry of a child from below. The matter was reported to the King who ordered that the child should be named Finau Taciloa, that is, Finau Unknown. This is said to be the origin of the name Finau Taciloa. 539 553

432. Ofa a fine paa: Love of barren woman. 539 851 554 828

Great as the love of a childless woman may be yet it does not reach the intensity of the love of a mother.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 844 **433. Tama tongia:** Child that can be substituted.

If a child dies the mother may get another child, and so be comforted for the loss of the other. This loss is not irretrievable, though grievous.

539 593 554 851 **434. Tama tuu he fae:** Child standing in the mother.

This is capable of varying application to the character and standing of the child conforming to those of the mother, but its primary reference would seem to be to the dependence of a child's rank on that of his mother. The child of a chiefly woman is chiefly, while the child of a chiefly man by a woman of inferior rank will take the status of the mother.

539 855 **435. Vale ia tama:** Foolish about a child.

The word *tama* is used of a mother's child. A different word is used when speaking of a child as the offspring of a father. This expression refers therefore only to the mother and recognizes the indulgence with which any extravagance should be regarded when it is the outcome of a mother's fondness for her child.

ADOPTION OF CHILDREN

597 [The adoption of children is an exceedingly common feature of Tongan social life.]

539 597 **436. Ohiohi pea kovi:** Adopted and bad.

This expression indicates that the affection of the adoptive parents has been lost, or tinctured with resentment, by some unworthy conduct of the child. The adoption has ended badly, or has come to a period where some at least of its friendliness has been replaced by less friendly feelings. This is similar to *Pelepele pea mele*, No. 439.

539 597 571 **437. Tala kovi kae ohi:** Speaking an ill thing but (then) adopting.

This is to refuse a request, perhaps with some anger, but afterwards to relent and grant what was asked. The idea seems to be that after the first churlishness one acts with as much kindness as though he were adopting into his own family the person to whom he had at first refused, but was now granting, the desired boon.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 571 829 **438. Faka-pelea a vale:** Making a pet of fool, with the obvious inference of the uselessness of such kindness.

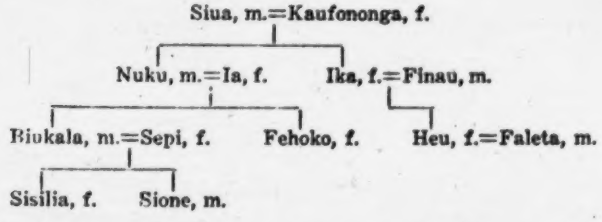
539 593 855 **439. Pelepele pea mele:** Petted and coming to grief.

Should a favorite child, or any other who is petted, presume on the preference shown him and do wrong he will be punished. His petting will become a spoiling, not in the sense in which we use the word spoil, of a favorite; but the rank of favorite will be spoiled. It has a special reference also to wrong-doing by a chief's wife.

These attitudes begin at about the time when the girl has her first menstrual period—between the ages of eleven and twelve. They continue until old age.

Some of these respects are naturally transferred to the wife of the brother. Thus the brother's wife may sit and sleep in the same room as the sister-in-law, but may not scold or order her to do things. The sister may never touch her brother's wife, may not help her remove her clothes, may not wear her clothes, may not wipe the perspiration from her forehead. When the brother's wife is in labour, it is *tapu* for the sister to go near the house. After the delivery when the mother is lying comfortably and nicely covered, the sister may visit her and sit respectfully beside her. She may look at the baby and pick it up if it cries. If the mother is uncovered for any attention, the sister must leave the house. The sister decides whether she or someone else of her choice shall name the baby.

Where there are several sisters, these are ranked according to age and descent. Thus in the following genealogy:



both Heu and Fehoko are "sisters" of Biukala, but Heu outranks Fehoko and this outranking includes also the father's sister relationship *(mehekitanga)* to Biukala's children, because Heu is related to Biukala through Biukala's father's sister (Ika is the sister of Nuku). Heu must show respect for Sepi who is her brother's wife, and Fehoko must also observe similar *tapu* in relation to Sepi. The respectful attitudes between Heu and Biukala are weakened because of the fact that the closely related parents of both are now dead. Formerly, when the parents were alive, Heu and Biukala could neither speak to each other nor sit together in the same house. Now, with relaxed restrictions, this may be done and Heu may even go to Biukala's house to ask for food.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

pubic-hair when her child reaches puberty. To drink coconuts opened at the bottom instead of pierced at the top will give her baby an abnormally large mouth. Commenting about, or criticising a person who has any physical defect will result in the child's being born with the same abnormality. Finally, it is dangerous for her to occupy any one position for a length of time, such as sitting upright for a long time or standing bent over her work. If she is not careful about this, she will suffer from abnormally hard labour. 843

BIRTH

The birth of a first-born child is a more important occasion than the birth of subsequent children. For the first-born, the father prepares a big feast when labour begins. He sends for the wife's mother to announce the event and all eat together. Both the mother's mother and the father's mother prepare special pandanus plaited mats and on these the child is placed immediately after birth. The other customs surrounding birth are similar for all infants. 844 [574]

Birth takes place within the house. A partition of bark cloth is hung from the rafters to divide the house into the family section and the mother's section. Plenty of soft mats are placed on the floor of the mother's part of the house. The mother's mother and the father's mother together with an expert medicine-man attend the mother. She sits on her mother's lap. The mother massages the back of the parturient and exerts pressure during labour pains. The medical expert sits in front of the parturient urging her to bear down with all her strength as the labour pains increase. He takes the baby with his hands as it is born, sucks the baby's nostrils to clear them of mucous, then turns the baby over on his hand and slaps it vigorously on the back to give it strength. The baby is placed on a bed of white bark cloth next to the mother. A wide band of bark cloth is wound round the mother's waist to give her support, and pressure is exerted until the afterbirth comes away. Cups of cold water are given to the mother to drink. The medicine-man ties the cord with a thread of cotton and places it against a bark cloth beater if the infant is a girl, before cutting the cord with a pair of scissors. If the infant is a boy, the cord is cut resting on a garden hoe. As the cord is snipped, the [593] [606] [759] [759]

844 mother calls out: "*Ko ho manava, mo hoku manava*"—literally, "My breath and your breath." The father takes the afterbirth with the cord attached and digs a hole in the middle of a path near the house. He burns some dry leaves in this hole to warm it and then, when the fire dies down, places the afterbirth in the hole after wrapping it in bark cloth. The hole is then carefully filled in with earth.

Meanwhile the baby is being wiped clean with warm water. It is wrapped warmly in bark cloth and allowed to rest in the grandmother's lap. The medicine-man is given [759] presents in return for his services: mats, bark cloth, food, [465] sometimes money. The husband prepares a feast with as big a pig as he can afford. *Kava* is served to all friends [574] and relatives in the house. When the food is served, the [262] mother may not eat pork. The most honourable part of the pig, its back, is given to the medicine-man.

604 Two relatives who will later play an important role in the child's life, observe a different procedure. The *mehekitanga* 846 (father's sister) may come into the house and hold 601 the child in giving it a name. The *fa'e tangata* (mother's brother) may not come into the house but spends his time in the cook-house helping with the feast.

846 For ten days after the birth the mother is confined entirely to the house. At the end of this time, the infant is [854] given a warm-water bath by the mother's mother. The mother may now leave the house to attend to bodily needs, but stays closely confined in the house for the rest of the day and night. This confinement lasts for three months in the case of the first-born, for two months in the case of a second-born, and thereafter for one month in the case of subsequent [795] children. A formal baptism in the church marks the end of this confinement of the mother. After this, the mother returns to full participation in the work of the household and in the everyday life of the village.

In the ten day confinement period, the routine is as follows: Mother and baby lie on separate beds of bark cloth. The mother's head is wrapped in a turban of bark [854] cloth and she is covered with layers of bark cloth. Close to her lies the baby surrounded with an enclosure of bark cloth over which a piece of cotton or muslin is thrown to keep away [574] flies. During the first day the father is busy preparing the

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

553 604 574 43 [844] [562]

mother. The exchange of presents is greatest for a first-born son, greater for a first-born girl than for subsequent girls, greater for a first boy than for subsequent boys or girls.

GROWING UP

121 No systematic study was made of the life of children. The following note on one aspect only of this life is to be understood as only a statement of what appears to the observer of village life as obvious and frequent.

857 [561] Children play frequently in groups which number up to ten or more members. There is little age stratification because most older children, older girls particularly, have the responsibility of being nursemaids for younger children and infants. Thus it is natural that the younger children should be members of a gang-group that is led by older children. The typical group, therefore, includes children between the ages of sixteen months and seven years. These gangs spend much of their time exploring and playing in the bush or on the beach. [865] A good deal of aggressive behaviour is displayed within the group. Shouts and laughter of one moment give place to tears in the next as an older child picks up a coconut-switch and unmercifully beats one of the younger children for some disobedience.

854 855 As long as the infants are babes in arms they are petted, pampered, and played with. From the age of eighteen months or so onwards, the children are thrown on their own resources. This means that they are free to go where they will or where they can. The mothers expect assistance and obedience if the children are playing round the house when some simple task comes to hand. The child who disobeys or who is thought lazy in carrying out a command is generally severely beaten by the mother. The beatings, which appear to be village-practice in enforcing discipline, are almost all carried out by adult women or by older children. The men of the household are generally away from the village all day, working in their gardens. We never saw a man direct more than the mildest of verbal reproofs toward his child. The whippings and beatings are women's work. In one instance only did we hear of a man beating a youngster. This was the case of Bovai who became enraged over the alleged laziness of his adopted son, aged fifteen years. The

855 861

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

Between two extremes, there are such aspects of the culture as economics where a subsistence-economy that is largely Tongan in techniques and organization has been interpenetrated by a money-economy derived from European culture; or the ceremony of marriage where a Christian ritual and a civil registration have been imposed upon a Tongan way of marriage—here the Tongan form is likely to be submerged in the near future by an imported form that appeals because of its simplicity and is felt to be a necessity because of Christian teaching. But the function of marriage is still regarded in Tongan fashion as the producing of children.[35] There is as yet no evidence of a European cultural attitude that thinks in terms of contraceptives and planned parenthood.

Again, in customs relating to birth and death, Tongan practice is still largely followed in the village. Tongan midwifery is uniformly the rule at the birth of a child; and at death, Tongan customs are also followed with the exception that on the one hand Christian prayers and the singing of Christian hymns have now a part in the funeral proceedings, and on the other hand, villagers are all buried in the one village cemetery whereas in ancient aboriginal practice, before grouping in villages took place, a dead person was buried on his own plantation or under the floor of his house.

Finally, to take one more example, education, previously informal, has now become institutionalized by the establishment of a formal school-system. The curriculum and the content of this system are based on European models, the language of instruction is Tongan. This means that whatever changes are introduced into the village culture by the ability of the ordinary villager to read and write, nonetheless he is still viewing this culture through the medium of his own native language. The basis of communication within the culture, therefore, is still in terms of thought- and language-patterns which are given formal structure by the

[35] Dr. Lopdell gives us the case, which he regards as not untypical of Tongan belief and practice, of a still young married woman and her husband who had had twelve children in the first fifteen years of their marriage and none for two years thereafter, and who consulted him because of their worry over lack of more offspring. Their fear was that their neighbours would think that they no longer loved each other!

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

178 582 844 moral tone allows a girl to prolong her independence to the limit set by time to her attractions, and she finds life so amusing that she defers marriage until the last possible bridegroom has left her for a younger generation. Even after marriage she is at a disadvantage as compared with her grandmother, who could count in childbed upon the help of her female relatives, according to certain fixed rules, instead of having, as now, to receive help as a favour only. These reasons and the increased skill of the women in forbidden forms of surgery tend to a decrease in the birth-rate. To those who would know more of this subject, I commend the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the decrease of the native race in Fiji, 1893. The report, besides being interesting, is of high anthropological value.

[181] Though the Tongans are vastly particular about outward modesty, they cannot truthfully be described as an over-sensitive people. We halted one day for lunch in a small village at the back of Tongatabu. The house was filled with the notables of the place, and the children stared at us six deep through the crevices in the reed walls. There was a sudden cry of *faele!* and in a few seconds we were left alone in the house. The children dashed off at the first cry, and after a decent interval our hosts made excuses one after another to leave the house. From the doorway I saw the whole population of the village thronging into a hut on the opposite side of the square. It was a birth.

A Tongan mother is delivered in a reclining posture, supported in the arms of her husband. There is no privacy,—the whole village is present. There is always a

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

There is always a
"wise woman" officiating, generally one of the hereditary sisterhood, but sometimes an old woman who had adopted the profession from choice, and is consequently looked down upon as an interloper and a quack. The fees, given in kind, are high when the poverty of the donors is considered—*ngatu* and mats to the value of 30s. or more. The "wise woman" receives the child on a tiny mat specially plaited for the occasion. If it is a boy, the umbilicus is severed on a digging-stick to make him a good cultivator; if a girl, on a *ngatu*-mallet to make her a good beater of cloth. The child is then washed and rubbed over with oil and turmeric, a small quantity of candle-nut and cocoa-nut juice is forced into its mouth to make it vomit, and for the first two days it is fed by hand upon cocoa-nut-milk, or suckled by another woman, because at that early stage the mother's milk is believed to be insufficient and unwholesome. During the first month the child's grandmothers, or its unmarried aunts, are told off to supply the mother with food and look after the house, and the mother is spared all exertion. It would be better for her and the child if at this stage she were also deprived of kava and tobacco. Before the missionaries had inculcated family life on the European plan, the native social system recognised a physical peculiarity in Tongan women, and insisted upon the seclusion of the mother during the whole period of lactation in order to avoid a second gestation within too short a period of the birth, and consequently the premature weaning of the first child. As in Japan, the time of suckling was prolonged until all the teeth had come; for the Tongans have no good substitute for the mother's

17: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923
OU9 Tonga OU9

is dangerous. The practitioner, when he has finished his treatment, carefully puts his basket or little bundle of medicine away in the shade, perhaps in the fork of a tree in the bush—it should not be left in the sun; and then he washes his hands. The owners of healing secrets generally guard their knowledge pretty jealously, and some virtue resides in themselves. It would be useless, if not dangerous, to steal anyone's medicine, but the prescription will be effective if properly bestowed by one person on another. There do not seem to be, however, any special ways of gathering the barks and leaves used, though I have been told of a medicine whose base is a bark which must be scraped from the tree when the rising sun shines upon it, and there is another in which leaves are cut down the middle, and the right halves thrown away and the left used.

In addition to the ordinary massaging there are gentle strokings, some of which appear rather mysterious in their operation. A white man, young and alert, told me that he had a painful swelling on his back, like a blind boil. An old woman came to him equipped with a concave sea-shell with a hole bored through the middle. She lightly outlined with the edge of the shell a square round the swelling, and then placed the shell, hollow side downwards, on the swelling, and gently stroked the shell. There was immediate relief and improvement; the trouble was much better next day, and quite cured in three days.

Less mysterious, and less effective than the white man's stroking the back of a shell, is the practice of holding the stomach of anyone suffering from abdominal pains. The shooting pains caused by wind give rise to much alarm. It is thought that vital parts of the body are leaping out of place, and, quite logically, the friends of the patient seek to hold the restless organ in its proper position. To the Tongan, Europeans probably seem rather heartless in leaving the sick alone as much as they do. Tongans are continually doing something for the patient, holding his head, or massaging his stomach, or what not. It would be very worrying to a sick European, though it must be admitted that much of the stroking and rubbing is extremely soothing. I have known a woman in difficult labour to have all her pains instantly relieved by the gentle pressure of an old midwife's hands.

Toothache, which must be more common now than it was once, is the subject of controversy. Some hold that it is caused by the boring of a little animal, whilst others maintain that it is just a sickness. So far as I have heard the evidence the partisans of the borer theory seem to have the stronger case, as a girl told me that she had herself seen a grub in a man's hollow tooth.

Children's illnesses are often attributed to "remembering," that is pining for an absent relative. A child is ill; remedies are tried in

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

boy's head seems to have been cut. This practice of leaving a long lock is now obsolescent. One still sees it, but not frequently. It is said that the hair of the girls used to be cut short on the crown and left long at the sides, but that at puberty the hair was cut the same length all over and then allowed to grow. This treatment of the girl's hair has become even more rare than the boy's long lock and I am unable to say that I have seen any undoubted example.

Amongst the gifts at a wedding are mats, presented by the bride's relatives, on which the young couple shall lay their children when born. The happy pair rarely, if ever, use this thoughtful gift for its ostensible purpose, and indeed do not keep it for themselves at all, but let it go in the general distribution of presents at the wedding ceremony. For some days prior to the marriage of high chiefs, the length of time varying according to the period before the guests begin to arrive, native cloth for towels, and candle-nuts (with which the Tongans prepare a favorite detergent) are presented to both bride and bridegroom. The interesting statement has been made that the cloth and mats used by the bride in bathing were afterwards given to the bridegroom, but this has been categorically denied by the chief whose marriage called forth the statement, and as few have taken a deeper interest in ancient Tongan ceremonial, or are better versed in it, his ignorance of any such practice cannot be lightly set aside. In his opinion the cloth and candle-nuts were presented to the bride and bridegroom for them to cleanse and beautify themselves for each other. He added that there is always the possibility that they will not be so used, and that in any case they are distributed to the guests with the other presents. It should be added that the portion of the wedding gifts which ultimately falls to the lot of the bride and bridegroom may be very small.

It is time, however, to return to our new-born infant, whose cord has not yet been cut. The cutting of the cord was performed by the male head of the household. The midwife placed the cord conveniently, and as paterfamilias struck it asunder with an axe he uttered a wish for the future career of the child—that a boy might grow up a great warrior or fisherman, that a girl might be beautiful, and so forth. The paternal benediction not infrequently called for

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

success in love in the case both of boys and girls. The severed cord, as Mr. McKern has informed me, is carefully buried in some recognizable place, e.g., in a mound if there be one conveniently close, or the spot may be marked by planting a tree or shrub.

SOCIAL TABUS

Social life is guarded by tabus which in their most general form forbid an inferior to touch his superior. Dr. Martin remarks (in Mariner's *Tonga*), "Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shows in an odd way, viz., by never entering the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned." This tabu noted by Mariner between brother and sister is not confined to the eldest sister, but is general. "Brother" and "sister" are of course misleading terms if understood with their English connotation. Distant cousins are included, and "collateral relatives" would better translate the Tongan words. But using "brother" and "sister" with the breadth of the corresponding Tongan terms we find that brothers and sisters are tabu to each other. A brother, if he enter a room where his sister is sitting, must keep at a distance from her, and so of the sister coming upon her brother. If a man is sitting talking to other women his sister must not approach the party at all. This tabu upon the intercourse of brothers and sisters is not entirely incompatible with cousin marriage, which may take place with the approval of the relatives on either side whose prerogative it is to secure a match for the couple concerned. When the match has been arranged the hitherto tabued "brother" and "sister" may be brought together and mated. Quite recently a youth and maid, distantly related, set their affections on each other, but when their love, which was very innocent, became known the relatives failed to smile. The girl's real brother in particular professed himself filled with shame, and the unhappy swain carried his embarrassment and stricken heart to another island. Tongan resentment, however, is short, life has resumed its normal course, and the youth has returned, though he appears to have left his unlucky passion in the place of his temporary exile.

MACHIKO AOYAGI

bride's mother to share the pleasure with. She was also very much pleased and gave another bark cloth to her daughter. The young couple had been staying at his parents' house until they built their own hut in the *api kolo* of his father's a few years later. Her parents eagerly wanted to bring her back for her first delivery. The first son was born under her parental roof and the new mother spent there about three months for her recuperation. On the day of its birth, her father made *umu*, including one chicken and one pig; her mother gave the baby two mats (*fala paongo* and *fala tofua*) and two sheets of bark cloth (ten *langanga* and five *langanga*); the husband's mother gave some napkins, mosquito net and cloth.

Funerals

When a husband dies, his wife, mother or brothers wash his body immediately. If the dead person is a women, her mother, sisters or mother's sisters undertake this task, and her husband may help them. Children may touch their mother, but not their father. After they rub the corpse with candle nut oil, they put on its clothes. Nowadays, a white shirt is used as an inner wear, and it is wrapped round with bark cloth called *vala lotu*, for which any kind of new bark cloth is used. Its size is not uniform; four *langanga* is enough for a child and five to eight *langanga* for an adult. This is prepared generally by those women to whom the dead stands in a near relation, namely his wife, mother, mother's sister and so on. Some bark cloths and mats are piled in the middle of the house, on which the corpse wrapped with *valu lotu* is laid. They cover the corpse again with *ngafingafi* and *kie* which is called *feta'u*. Instead of these mats a piece of white silk may be used now as a covering of a corpse.

Then, they send for a steward to lead prayer. Two or three *fahu*, that is *ilamutu*, of the dead, regardless of sex, takes seats close to the head of the dead. The seat-ordering among these *fahu* does not seem to be strict. The family members and relations of the dead sit inside the room; when the dead is a man his children and sisters are excluded from the room, and her brothers are excluded when a woman dies. After the steward finishes his prayer, people express their condolence by turns, weeping and kissing. The near relations offer *fihu* and bark cloth, and the remote relations, friends and villagers deck the centre of the room with a piece of cloth and garland. On this special occasion, the children and sisters may kiss the corpse to bid farewell to the dead man, and the brothers may do the same to the dead sister. As soon as they bid farewell, they should leave the room and rest in a temporarily built shelter. All day long people mourn and neighbours stand outdoors and sign hymns. *Liongi*, that is younger brothers, *fa'e tangata* and those who are inferior in rank to the dead person, have a lot of miscellaneous works to do, for example boiling water and serving *topai* (a kind of dumpling in soup) and tea to visitors. It is the *ulu i famili* who assigns them duties. Meanwhile, one of the *liongi* prepares *kava*, and men drink until next morning. The first cup should go to T. Leka, and the subsequent cup may go to any present *matapule*.

15

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 4

Initial Residence in Motulahi of Resident Adults, by Age in 1970

621
622
166
162

	20-29 (N=176) %	30-49 (N=223) %	50+ (N=95) %	Total (N=494) %
Local-born or immigrant before age 20	66	53	28	53
Immigrant as an adult (age 20+)	34	47	72	47
	100	100	100	100

Source: fieldwork survey.

Note: Those born in Motulahi and those who came as children are not distinguished, since in many cases there is a temporary shift of residence at childbirth, and thus children may be born somewhere other than where they are raised. (See Chapter IV).

[844]
[591]

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

household with her parents or other relatives, while a man prefers to bring his family to live with his parents or other relatives. The matter is usually settled by factors other than these considerations, however: mainly, where it is (which island and village) that they need or wish to be located, and which of the relatives is capable of having them. In other words, factors other than the simple elements of kinship relationships usually determine the location and composition of the household in which people live.

Where there is an equal possibility of living in a household with the wife's or the husband's relatives, the choice primarily reflects the quality of relationships between the husband and the wife and between the wife and her in-laws. To live in the household of one's in-laws is a difficult situation, difficult in different ways for a man and a woman. A woman is far more involved in domestic activities than a man. Thus, when a couple moves in with the wife's people, the husband may well feel that he has little useful place as a stranger in the household—which is not the situation when a woman is living with her husband's people. On the other hand, precisely because of the greater interaction, the wife is constantly exposed to the critical view of her husband's relatives. Ideally, a woman should agree to live where her husband's people are, whether in their household or in a separate household in their village. And indeed, most new households are established by local men—that is, the man and wife set up their own household in the husband's village, since a man generally has more chance of being allocated a residential plot in his parents' village, where he is known and where his kin can exert pressure and assist him in acquiring land in his own name. At the very least, if they are not successful in getting him his own residential plot, he might set up his own household on his parents' land.

If a young couple does not have the means to establish and maintain a household, they almost inevitably reside at first in a common household with the husband's people. At this time, the young wife is under constant scrutiny and must act as demurely as possible. She usually goes home to her parents for the birth of the first child, however, and often stays there for a few weeks or months, ostensibly so that her mother can help her in taking care of the baby. Usually, her husband comes with her, or is at her parents' home for part of the period, moving back and forth between his people and hers. They may move back to live with his people, but at each birth she has the excuse of moving to her parents' home, taking the children with her and going for a few months before the birth and staying for a few months after. Eventually, if they do not establish their own household, they may, in the end, remain with the wife's people. (This is especially likely if the husband has no expectation of inheriting an agricultural allotment, since that

ALTERNATIVE MEANINGS FOR TONGAN PLACE NAMES

ngahu plants that grew profusely there. They went on to the next island, and again she got sick. They went to a third island, and she liked it there so there they stayed until one night she woke up with stabbing pains in her back. Tupouto'a knew that she was in labour so they hurried and set sail for Lifuka. Before landing at Pangai, however, they decided to turn around and head for 'Uiha to Malupo's place so the child could be born there. As they passed Hihifo, Houma Fale Ono begged them to put to shore because she was going to give birth very soon.

They landed on the beach just as she gave birth to a baby boy. The men called about for a ripe coconut to feed the baby.[12] Finally, an old man, who was bailing out the double canoe, called back that he had a nut from the last island they were on. This was brought and opened. They found that it was a ngiringini "a dried shrivelled nut," for all the water was gone. The meat was still good, and they fed the baby with it. After this, they took the afterbirth and buried it further inland, marking the place with an ovava tree.[13] Then they sailed on to 'Uiha.

When they arrived at 'Uiha, a kava party was held and they told of their travels and the birth of the child. The first island on which they landed and where Houma Fale Ono vomitted from the smell of the ngahu plants was called /lua + ngahu/ "vomit ngahu." The next island was named /lua + hoko/ "vomit next" because that was where she threw up next. The third island that she liked, and where she woke up from her sleep with pain in her back, was called /ofo + langa/ "awake startled from sleep + pain." The beach on which the baby boy was delivered was called /niu ui/ "coconut call" because the men called around for a coconut to feed the baby. The child was named Ngiringini Ofolanga, meaning "the shrivelled dried coconut from Ofolanga."

Two more names associated with the war between Laufilitonga, the last Tu'i Tonga, and Taufa'ahau which took place on Lifuka island at Ha'apai[14] were given wrong meanings. They are:

Tauakipulu. "To build two canoes at the same time for caulking with pulu gum (taua, to build two canoes at the same time; ki, for; pulu, a kind of gum, used as pitch for caulking canoes."[15]

Velata. "To burn and to strike (vela, to burn; ta, to strike)."[16]

Gifford's Tauakipulu's correct spelling and pronunciation is /tau'akipulu/. It came from the terrifying yells of Laufili'tonga's fleeing warriors, /ko e pulu 'oku nau tau'aki/ "they are using gun powder in the fight." This sentence had been transformed into /tau'aki'a e pulu/ "fighting with gunpowder," or "using gunpowder for the fight," and /'a e/ got deleted resulting in the present form, /tau'akipulu/ the name given to the King's residence in Ha'apai to commemorate Taufa'ahau's victory over Laufilitonga's warriors.

Velata had also originated in a similar fashion to Tau'akipulu. It is the result of transformations of the original sentence /Ko e taa na'e vevela/" the strike that inflicted pain," referring figuratively to the great mental suffering of Laufilitonga when his wife Lupe Pau'u eloped with Taufa'ahau. This original sentence was transformed to /Na'e vevela 'a e taa/. Then the past tense marker /na'e/ was

12. Before the baby is breast fed by the mother, he is given a *namoa*. This consists of ripe coconut meat which is chewed and wrapped in a piece of unpainted tapa cloth. Then this is placed in the baby's mouth so he can suck it. The coconut cream acts as a mild laxative and it cleans out the baby's *te 'evao* "bush excrement" which is the term applied to the baby's first passing of stool.
13. Most people in Ha'apai believe that the ovava tree in front of the hospital at Niu'ui on Lifuka is this same ovava tree referred to in this story.
14. Gifford. 1923:213–14.
15. */tau'akipulu/*. Gifford 1923:216. The three morphemes in this compound word are */tau/* "fight or war" /'aki/ instrumental suffix, and */pulu/* "gunpowder."
16. Gifford 1923:257.

164
751
752
753
754
755
757
826
827
843
844

[For a list of Tongan words on disease and medicine, see Category 192, pp. 14-19.]

77: Whitcombe Y-3 (no date) 1930 OU9 Tonga OU9

278 757 824 **Magele, Lou fuji, Ega.** For sores on a child. The bark is removed from the roots of the *magele* plant, the *fuji* (banana) leaves are pounded, and the *ega* (turmeric) added; all are mixed with water and given to father, mother, and child to drink.

192 **Malolo.** For a boil termed *matai ika* (fish eye) on the hand or leg. The leaves of the plant are chewed or pounded to a pulp and the juice painted on the boil.

For swelling in the neck (*kia tolo*).

For elephantiasis (*kulokula*). The juice obtained from chewing the leaves is applied to the affected parts.

For stomach pains and for *faka avaga*.

Malolo, Kavakava ulie. For boils which affect the whole body. The leaves from the *malolo* and the young shoots of the *kavakava ulie* are chewed or pounded together and the juice painted over the body.

Mamolo. For fever, stiffness of the jaws, or fixed eyes in children. The trunk is scraped and the juice extracted for a drink.

Manonu. For *faka avaga*. The trunk of the tree is scraped and the juice used as a drink.

[814] For women who are long in labor and can not give quick delivery.

Manonu, Bua. For trouble connected with the afterbirth. Both plants are used.

Mapa. For a boil termed *helaakilagi*. The young shoots of the plants are chewed and juice painted over the boils.

Milo. For *buhi bala*. The trunk is scraped to extract a juice for making children vomit.

Milo i tahi, Tono. For dysentery (*tuutuutoto*). The juice from the two plants is mixed and taken internally.

Mohokoi. For stomach complaint in old people.

Moli. For toothache. The bark is chewed.

Moli toga. For dysentery. (See *tava*.)

Monomono. For upset stomach. The trunk of the tree is scraped and the scrapings pounded with the fruit of the same tree to make a medicine termed *vai bala*.

Moosipo. For injury caused by poisonous fish (*nofu*). The leaves are pounded or chewed and the juice rubbed on the affected parts.

Niu Mea Alava. For *ila* (rash that appears on children). The nut of this tree is husked and the juice obtained from the husk is used as a medicine.

Nonu. For pains in the stomach. The young twigs of the plant are grated or chewed and juice painted over the stomach.

Nonu, Hohea. For rheumatism (*feji ahe tevolo*) and *faka avaga* (one possessed of of the evil spirit). The young leaves of the two plants are gathered and chewed together to make a medicine.

Ovava. For *tabitobito*.

Siale. For *avaga*. The trunk is scraped and the juice extracted.

Sipi. For fits (*teia*). The vine is scraped and the juice extracted.

Tava. For sore mouth in children. The trunk is scraped and the juice extracted to use as an external application.

For fever, stiffness of the jaws, on fixed eyes in children. (See *akataha*.)

Tava, Moli toga, Fekika. For dysentery (*tuutuutoto*). The trunks of these three trees are scraped to procure the juice, which is used as a drink.

Teebiloamaui. For stitch in the side, or shortness of breath (*uhuuhu*).

278 171 In Tahiti, the leaves are used for treating toothache and neuralgia (19), and in Niue, they are reportedly esteemed in treating tuberculosis (31). Hunt (12) reports that the plant is employed in Samoa.

278 757 In Tonga, boiling water is poured over the leaves into a basin and the steam inhaled as a cure for fever and headache. The bark is boiled and is an ingredient in a general tonic.

278 137 ## ZINGIBERACEAE
(Ginger Family)

CURCUMA LONGA L.

ango

The turmeric plant, distributed widely in warm countries, is occasional throughout Tonga.

278 171 A decoction of the rhizome is used in treating conjunctivitis (8) and a mixture of the rhizomes with coconut oil is prepared as a vulnerary (21) in the Philippines. The rhizomes are official in numerous pharmacopoeias.

278 844 386 A solution of the rhizome was formerly painted on the mother's body prior to parturition as an antiseptic. This practice is no longer common in Tonga. *Ango* is presently found in "brick" form. These bricks are prepared by first removing the outer layer of the rhizome and then pounding the latter and adding water. The fine dye grains are separated from the rough starch grains and the dye grains dried in the sun until they have a "creamy" consistency. This mass is then placed in a bamboo tube and baked in a Tongan earth oven until dry. The circular bricks are removed as needed.

278 137 ### ZINGIBER ZERUMBET (L.) J. E. Smith

angoango

Wild ginger, widely distributed in warm countries, is frequent in Tonga.

278 171 In the Philippines, the pulverized rhizome is used as an antidiarrheic (8). Stopp (27) reports that in New Guinea juice derived from the rhizome is employed for treating burns or cuts and that small pieces of the rhizome in combination with "other plants" are valued to relieve toothache.

278 Yuncker (32) states that in Tonga the rhizome has medicinal uses.

[p.447-A]

/81 cont./

585
178
(565)

night, so that today among commoners it could be only a matter of a recessive movement toward a more recent custom borrowed from nobles.

as also the partial abandonment of the custom of publicly demonstrating the /bride's/ virginity (in addition to a certain simplification of the Tongan wedding costume and the gradual disappearance of the wedding baskets) could be indications of advancing change, though the tenacious adherence to the rest of the ceremony and to the typical wedding dress shows that the "Tongan wedding" may hold its own for a long time to come.

Birth

657
743
844
(744)

Though there is growing interest in the motorized infant welfare service (under the leadership of a white nurse) among the population on Tongatapu, and some mothers and mothers-to-be on Vava'u and Lifuka are seeking the advice of the hospitals there, the birth itself and infant care are still purely a family affair throughout the entire Archipelago. Most of the Tongan women who go to the large hospital in Nuku'alofa/Tonatapu immediately when their first labor pains begin, come from this seaport itself. Otherwise, people generally do not consider the hospital unless there are complications, and the woman in labor reaches it-- often lying in an old truck--only after a great loss of blood.

743
844

844

As a rule, therefore, birth takes place in the traditional manner in the living (sleeping) house where a section is arranged for the mother-to-be and a small bed is prepared (234)

234. For example, a small mat and tapa with a soft covering, for instance raw tapa (feta'aki) or a small cloth mattress with kapok filling.

for the expected child. When the labor pains of the pregnant woman announce the impending birth, she asks her husband to call the ma'uli (the Tongan midwife).

(759)

/81 cont./

844 ma'uli (the Tongan midwife). Her mother and her sister are also fetched if they can be reached. --The newborn child is washed and rubbed with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga). /82/ Rubbing with turmeric (kurkuma) (235)

844 178

[113]

235. Compare J. Wilson, Missions-Reise in das sudliche stille Meer /Mission journey to the South Pacific/, translated from English by D. Canzler. Berlin. 1800. page 396; J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 273; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 185.

is apparently no longer practiced, neither in the case of the child nor the mother. The old custom of burying the umbilical cord is, however, still widespread it is, of course, omitted in hospital births. The umbilical cord, after it is cut off, is wrapped in a piece of tapa or feta'aki (raw tapa) (also possibly in a piece of European cloth) and buried near the house by the father, in a hole approximately 3/4 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ meters deep. In order to mark the spot, it is buried under a tree, for example, or else a stone is placed on the spot, or a flower or a sapling are planted on it. Even in a village like Fungamisi, the settlement bordering the seaport Neiafu, this custom is still commonly observed. Many people forget the place wehre their children's umbilical cords are buried, while, on the other hand, very modern and progressive Tongans keep careful track of the spots.

553 If the child's father is present, the child is given a name on the day of its birth. If the father happens to be on a trip to another island, his return is awaited. According to the old [604] custom, the father's sister (mehekitanga) names the child (chooses its name). The father himself can also give the name, but not the mother of the child.

846 574 Birth was and is, in general, not connected with special

/84 cont./

165 and since this figure has doubled in the past three decades, (240)
163
161
(113)

240. For example, for 1919. 22,689 Tonga are reported (E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 6) and for 1949, 45,690 (Colonial Office, Report on Tonga for the Year 1949 / cited in English/. London 1950. p. 5).

we must assume that this birth surplus did not exist in the past. (944) Undoubtedly, the improved health service is one of the reasons for this change. However, if we consider the still very inadequate medical help and the indifference and negligence of the population of most of the small islands of the Archipelago, we must conclude that the population increase has other reasons as well. Yet, since the Tonga [842] in the past had no sort of birth control and it is not possible to explain the present excess of births /over deaths/ by a "psychic strengthening" of these natives, since there is no indication that they were formerly "psychically weaker," it is very difficult to interpret this change.

844 In general, we may say about the birth /process/ in Tonga that it
178 still takes place largely in the ancient Tongan manner, although
177 growing European influences must be reported. These may also be seen in infant care (diet and clothing).

/85/

Death

761 The odd, yet to the Tongans already quite natural, coupling
177 of ancient Tongan traditions with Christian customs and European
178 material attributes, which we observed in wedding and birth, becomes especially clear to us in /a consideration of/ death and burial.

763 For an old man who is near death the Tongans sometimes build,
343 as they did in olden times for dying chiefs, (241)

241. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 199.

a special small house where he is laid in preparation for death. This not only gives the dying person special dignity, but it is also

006 /305 cont./

T F 515 179 especially in building of "bath houses." In the care of their bodies there is a certain change to be noted--as in Tonga--through European influences (soap, towel) and their continued use of the ancient body oil.

T F 302 179 Their hair style has likewise changed, for the Fijians--like the Tongans--often cut their hair short nowadays in the European fashion, and the old, puffed-out hair style is seen rather seldom. The clothing

T F 291 179 of these natives--like that of the Tongans--has also changed very much as a result of missionization and the importation of textiles; however, the younger Fijians wear pants (shorts /cited in English/) far more than is customary in the other Archipelago. Old articles of adornment are scarcely seen any more among the natives of both sexes; the change, the loss in this area is even greater than among the

T F 304 178 Tongans. Tattooing, which was little practiced in former times in Fiji has probably been forgotten everywhere, and does not live on in "modern" form as on the Tonga Islands. However, circumcision is apparently still commonly practiced among the Fijians and, as in Tonga, is today a custom that the natives adhere to without attributing to it a deeper significance.

T F 581 179 997 In the social sphere it is to be noted, first of all, that in Fiji--exactly as in Tonga--marriage has been given a Christian basis as a result of the missionization of the natives. A freer conception of married life is, however, to be observed here as in the Archipelago

T F 593 604 178 under comparison. On the Fiji Islands, too, the custom of brother-sister avoidance is apparently still rather strictly observed, whereas the old "privileged position in relation to the mother's brother" survives in a weaker form than in Tonga--perhaps because of more

T F 601 drastic colonial legislation. The Fijians, like the Tongans, have

T F 585 849 964 179 178 kept their classificatory kinship terms. The festivals at the stages of life (birth, nuptials, death), as in the Tonga Archipelago, show

/305 cont./

much inherited tradition and of mixing of old and new (especially with regard to nuptials) which the present generation takes for granted. In Fiji too there is a sort of "flight marriage" whose purpose is to avoid the great expense of a regular /306/ wedding; the number of those who circumvent the traditional wedding seems to be larger on these islands than in the other Archipelago.

While in Tonga a change in the type of settlement can be noted, with commoners formerly living as separate families on the land of chiefs, we find in Fiji a continuation of what has long been the customary type of village settlements, though with the qualification that now the villages seldom have the kind of simple structure in which the larger kinship groups of yavusa were the /settlement's/ sole inhabitants.

The old community -oriented system, continues in Fiji to a large extent; this is evident not only in the claim of common land ownership and the traditional carrying-out of community projects, but particularly in the fact that the transfer of private property to fellow villagers solely at their request and without direct return service seems to be practiced on these Islands no less than in Tonga, even though it is officially discouraged. As a result of their encounter with fundamentally different types of culture and under a certain economic pressure, some Fijians have separated themselves from the village community and have found work in trade or industry, or they have established independent farming enterprises (with government support); however, they have remained in the minority, and most of them find it very difficult to break with the old community life and its customs. This development, which is scarcely to be noted in Tonga and only to a slight extent in Samoa, nevertheless represents a certain danger to the continuation of the traditional social order.

With regard to social stratification it is to be noted that on